

# Revolution through Cyberspace: Burmese Blogosphere and Saffron Revolution

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**Abstract—** Development of Burmese blogosphere since Saffron Revolution in 2007 have brought new environment for political participations in Myanmar. Enquiring the structure and development of Burmese blogosphere provides political culture of Myanmar on blogosphere. Few political blogs can be regard as an active political blogs based on their level of intention and participation. Poems are widely for campaigns and delivering message to public. There is no evidence of feminist movements on blogosphere. Political blogosphere is a revolutionist in nature with personal offence. There are no clear ideological ground and definitions on democracy. 8888 uprising is still regard as the image of revolutions and fighting peacock is widely used as a symbol of political blogs. High personal influence of Aung San and Aung San Suu Kyi can be found in most of the political blogs. Burmese blogosphere shows the bloggers' assumptions that democracy can only be achieved through revolution against military regime.

**Index Terms—** Blogosphere, Burmese, Myanmar, Saffron Revolution.

## I. INTRODUCTION

It was 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2007, 19 years after the 8888 uprising, group of monks surrounded by the people gathered in front of the house of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of National League of Democracy (NLD) and Nobel Prize winner. Few minutes later, she appeared behind the line of riot polices and gave respects to the monks. It was the first time appearance in public within 4 years, since 2003. Few hours later the pictures of her appearance was flooded on the internet through blogs and later to news agencies. It was the beginning of the Saffron Revolution. Scholars around the world comment on this situation as the new era of the Burmese political movements, new media and the beginning of new revolution through internet [1]. Until the government breakdown the internet on 28<sup>th</sup> of September, Burmese blogosphere played a crucial role on providing news, photos, and delivering campaign messages from different organizations.

The campaigns on blogosphere started since fuel hike protest in August 2007, just before the saffron revolution. Political discussions and campaign initiated in early August 2007 on the different forums such as Myanmar Cupid

Community forum (MMCP) [2] and Yet another Myanmar Community forum (YAMC) [3]. Since saffron revolution, numbers of political blogs increase significantly and serve as a hub for communication between different organizations in exile as well as news sources from inside Myanmar [4]. Different studies related to the role of internet on Myanmar politics are already published. Scholars are also recognized the crucial and significant roles of blogs during and after the saffron revolution [5]. Although, they recognized the role of blogs in Myanmar politics, studies on Burmese blogosphere is still require to conduct.

Studying on the development of Burmese political blogosphere will provide an opportunity to enquire the relationship between political and non-political blogs. In addition the relationship between bloggers and their posts as well as the historical development of Burmese political cyberspace are also feasible to study. The contemporary political discussions and political culture can be identified by interpreting blog posts on the political blogosphere.

### A. Research Aims and Questions

The aims of the research are to identify and describe the development of Burmese blogosphere and its political culture during Saffron Revolution in 2007. It includes the development of Burmese blogosphere before and after the saffron revolution in 2007. In order to fulfill the first research aim, following questions are formulated.

- How did Burmese blogosphere develop?
- What is the structure and political culture of Burmese blogosphere?

This paper includes six chapters. Background of internet and Saffron Revolution will present in next chapter. It will be followed by methodology. Questions concern with development and structure of Burmese blogosphere will present under chapter of the Burmese blogosphere. Political culture will discuss under the chapter of blog posts for revolution.

## II. BACKGROUND OF INTERNET AND SAFFRON REVOLUTION

### A. Internet in Myanmar before Saffron Revolution

Internet was introduced to Myanmar in 2000 with strict government restrictions [6]. In 2006, there were only 0.12 internet users per 100 people, which also lowest in the

region [7]. Although numbers of subscribers on ADSL, Broadband and Wimax users increased in recent years, internet penetration did not increase significantly due to high price on installation fees [8]. Although there was very low internet penetration, political movements occurred in Myanmar through internet since 2006. According to reporters without border, Myanmar was listed as the 4<sup>th</sup> most restricted country over internet after North Korean, Turkmenistan and Cuba in 2007[9].

### *B. Saffron Revolution*

Removal of fuel subsidies on 15<sup>th</sup> of August led to double in transportation fees on the same day [10]. Protests were begun on 19<sup>th</sup> of August 2007 led by prominent activists, 88 generation students. Government arrested leaders of protest on 21<sup>st</sup> of August [11]. Since 19<sup>th</sup> of August, the messenger campaigns with posting the same avatar on every Internet messaging clients was begun in order to show the supports to protesters [12].

After the suppression on 21<sup>st</sup> of August, protest led by monks initiated in upper Myanmar. Government crack down on monks protest in Pakoku injured 3 young monks [13]. Monks demands for apology by the deadline of September 17. Government refuse for apology and protest began in 17<sup>th</sup> of September. Protest was escalated and reached to peak in 24<sup>th</sup> of September with the 100,000 participants [14]. Government imposed dusk till-dawn curfew on 25<sup>th</sup> and prepare for crackdown. Government crack down on protest on 26<sup>th</sup> of September and internet was break down on 28<sup>th</sup> of September [15]. Throughout the revolution, up to date news were provided to international news agencies through Cbox on the blogs [16].

## III. METHODOLOGY

Quantitative data collections with qualitative interpretation were used in this study. Data were collected through web crawler between 2<sup>nd</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> of March 2010 and categorized into different categories as mentioned below. Data from web crawl were used to identify the number of blogs and to describe the development and structure of Burmese blogosphere. Blog posts between August 2007 and October 2007, Saffron Revolution, were interpreted and categorized into different categories to identify bloggers opinions on Myanmar politics and political culture of Myanmar blogosphere during the time of political crisis. Author assumed that number of political blogs and participation of bloggers in social movements was more during the time of political crisis.

In order to compare the list of blogs to enquire the structure of blogosphere, survey from Myanmar Blog Society (MBS) was used as a secondary source. MBS is the only one

blog society in Myanmar and index over 600 blogs in their blogs directory.

Survey from MBS was the first surveys on Burmese bloggers and conducted during August-September 2009 through online [17]. Survey was send to all registered blogs on MBS directory and over 400 responded. Link of survey forms was directly send to bloggers which gave chance to identify bloggers' IP-address. After identifying IP-address and removing data redundancy, 349 blogs were identified as valid responses.

### *A. Data Collection to identify blogs in blogosphere*

In order to indentify blogs and relation between blogs, hyperlinks between different blogs were mapped. Author assumed that hyperlinks showed the relation between blogs. Hyperlinks create the networks of blogs and developed into blogosphere. Crawling of hyperlinks provided the lists and network of blogs in Burmese blogosphere.

Author used software called Visual Web Spider, Crawl to indentify the links between Burmese blogosphere. Pilot crawling with third level in-depth resulted to the large numbers of foreign language blogs. To avoid large numbers of blogs from other languages, only up to second level in-depth crawling was conducted. Second level crawling still included foreign language blogs however, author manually removed foreign language blogs after the crawling.

In order to include all Burmese political blogs in blogosphere, author set the start points, seeds, from ten different blogs rather than one seed. Seeds were selected based on their popularity, which mean blogs which was awarded or nominated political blogs by different organizations. During the process of crawling, I excluded all the pages end with different file extensions except extension for webpage. In additions, different news agencies websites as well different online services like YouTube, scribd and esnips were also excluded to collect only the blogs.

In order to collect the list of the blogs only, author index one page per domain. After indexing, author merged with different results from different seeds, over 375 blogs were recorded. After removing of duplicated entries and web blogs with foreign languages, 215 blogs were listed for sampling.

### *B. Content Analysis*

Author conducted content analysis on blog posts manually as software did not support to extract Burmese fonts. Blog posts were categorized into different category as mentioned in typology of blog posts. Post during saffron revolution was collected from 57 blogs.

### *C. Typology of Blogs on Burmese Blogosphere*

Blog or web blogs is commonly defined as a website with personal information with chorological order [18].

Development of commercial blogging in recent years made blurring in boundary between blogs and simple websites. Based on the definition of blogs, author defines the political blog as a blog which comments on politics and written in chronological order. Author categorizes into different categories of political affiliated blogs depending on the bloggers' intention and participation level.

In this paper, participation refers to degree of blogger's participation in campaigns, posting on political related posts and commenting on news. Author assumes level of participation is high when bloggers are actively participating in campaigns not only during the crisis but also throughout the time. Low level participation refers to blogs with low or insignificant participation throughout the timeline.

Intention refers to degree of blogger's political intention to develop political campaigns or participation in campaigns. Blogger's intention can interpret based on their posts. High level intention means blog with posts which intentionally to develop or participate in political campaigns. That is the posts related to campaign, propaganda and selected news. Low intention refers to blogs that do not have political related posts or posts that are not intend to develop campaigns.

		Participation	
		High	Low
Intention	High	Active Political Blogs	News blogs
	Low	Passive Political Blogs	Non-Political Blogs

Fig.1. Typology of the blogs

According to Florence Passy and Marco Giugni, the intensity of participation is depending on individual perceptions. The perceptions have a direct impact on the level of participation [19]. If bloggers perceive that they don't have any risk on the participation, the level of participation will high. Bloggers will participate actively in campaigns if they perceive the campaigns are low risk or high chance of success. In order to participate or develop political campaigns, not only perception but also intention, is required. Blogger may have high level of intention for participation even though they have low level of participation due to risky situations. The level of intention is depending on the individual awareness on the political movements. These two variables, participation and intention, creates four different types of blogs in blogosphere.

*Active political blogs:* Blogs that aim to comment only on politics will be assumed as the active political blogs. Bloggers write only political related posts throughout their chronological orders since the beginning of the blogs. In addition, they usually network with related neighboring blogs to form political blogosphere. Political bloggers not only

provide and discuss information but also conducting campaigns and propaganda. In active political blogs, blogger intentionally posts political related posts to develop or promote campaigns to increase participations. In addition, they also perceive that their movements are low risk or high chance of success which leads to high in participation. To identify active political blogs, number of post per months and numbers of individual posts will be considered while categorizing the blogs. I'll assume the blog as active political blogs while they posts political related posts regularly regardless of time.

*Passive Political blogs:* Bloggers usually write comments on politics only during the time of crisis or campaigns. They usually categorized themselves as other categories of blogs except political blog. Although, they are not active political blogs, they participate in politics during the time of crisis as they perceive that their participation will leads to success of campaigns or low in risk. These forms of blogs are high in participation during the time of crisis however level of political intention is low as they don't have long term intention to do politics or develop campaigns. They just share the posts from active political blogs or news.

*News Blogs:* Blogs which providing the news links to readers from different news agencies are categorized into news blogs. They usually work as news aggregator. They usually has high political intention and share selected news which can promote campaigns. However their participations during the campaigns are low as they just share the news links daily and do not comments on it to protect their risks. Although they did not participate effectively, they serve as a gate way to news agencies and sometimes serve as a news portals or Hubs.

*Non-political blogs:* Blogs that do not discuss or posts any political related posts. In this paper, I assume all types of blogs except non-political blogs as a political blogs.

#### D. Typology of Blog Posts

Author classified blog posts into 4 different types, articles, news, poems and campaign, according to their style of writing. In this paper, author refers articles as a type of post written in prose style with the comments and opinions from bloggers on different topics. News refers to posts written in reporting styles on different events without any comments from bloggers. Campaign refers to posts with just only slogans and pictures to support or intimate campaigns.

#### E. Categorizing the Political Blog Posts

Author classified different blog posts into following categories to identify bloggers' intention and objectives during the crisis. These intention and objectives shape and reflect the political culture of Burmese political blogosphere. Different typologies of blog posts are not restricted in these categories. Literature such as poems, prose, statements, news and Medias such as video, photos and audio files are also considered while

categorizing the political blog posts. Categories are developed based on the surfing of all political blogs and reading blog posts from August 2007-October 2007, during the time of Saffron Revolution.

*Revolution:* Blog posts that aim to promote, support and initiate revolutions are categorized under this group. In this paper, author means revolution as a process that aims change the government rapidly through different means such as protest and mass mobilization as well as arm struggling for development of democracy. Different campaigns in international communities that support the revolution such as lobbying and demonstrations will also include in this category.

*Evolution:* Blog posts that aim to support the evolution process of democratizations. All the post which supports Road Map to Democracy by SPDC, constitutions and elections will be included under this category. Posts which against the revolution process are also belong under this.

*Human rights and ethnics:* Blogs post related to promotion of human rights and ethnics' minority issues will be categorized under this category. Blog posts that concern with child soldier, human right abuse in conflicts areas and forced labor will be included. Reports, news and statements concern with human rights will be count in under this category.

*Personal offences:* Blog posts that aim to attack personally on all political figures will be categorized under this category. This will include offensive words and rumors.

*History and academic:* Blog posts related to history and academic research papers on political development will be categorized under this.

*Other:* This category will include all posts that do not relate to above categories. Posts which related to education, standard of living and health care will be categorized under this.

#### IV. THE BURMESE BLOGOSPHERE

##### A. Background Burmese Blogosphere

Until the development of Zawgyi one Unicode font from Alpha Mandalay Company in 2005, there was no Burmese blogs. Blogger from Myanmar only posted in English or Scanned. Although we could not clearly identified the first Burmese blogs, there were only 7 blogs using Burmese font in January 2006 [20].

According to Myanmar Blog Society (MBS), 600 blogs were registered at Myanmar Blogs Directory in August 2009 [21]. According to MBS survey, majority of the blogs, 96 percent, in MBS were hosted on BlogSpot and Word Press with very few are hosted on other services [22]. Only 7blogs, 1% were categorized themselves as a society /Politics category in Myanmar Blog survey. After visiting all 7 blogs, they could not categorized into the political blogs that I described

in above sections as all of the posts were related to their personal dissatisfactions over the living standard.

After crawling of Burmese blogs as described in methodology, author collected 215 Burmese Language blogs comprise of 133 political blogs. Compare with the blog lists from survey conducted by Myanmar Blog Society, there was only 1 duplicate blog. These comparisons showed two distinct Burmese blogospheres were developed on the cyberspace with very few relations.

##### B. Early Development of Burmese Political Blogs

There were only 27 political blogs register in Myanmar blogosphere before August 2007 with 10 Active political blogs, 15 passive political blogs and 2 news blogs. There was very few blog posts concern with politics before 2007. Active political blogs before 2007 only shared news.

Political blogs in Burmese political blogosphere dated back to 1999. Oldest blogs recorded was the blog of Saw Wai, famous poet for his political poems. Only one blog, <http://totalitarian-oil.blogspot.com/>, which campaigns for sanctions and withdrawal of total oil from Myanmar with the reason of human right abuse, is found in blogosphere and considered as the first political campaign blog in Burmese blogosphere . However the last update of this blog was on March 2007. They reported the human right abuse and war victims in Karen State, Eastern Myanmar.

Burmese Digest blogs [burmadigest.wordpress.com](http://burmadigest.wordpress.com) actively update since 2005 October until now. Majority of the posts were written in English and few Burmese articles were posted as scanned documents in different types of image files.

##### C. Booming of Burmese Political Blogs

Until 2007, the numbers of political blogs in were significantly low. Numbers of political blogs increase significantly on October of 2007. It was largely influenced by protests on hiking of fuel price in August 2007 and Saffron Revolution in September 2007.

It is difficult to identify the locations of the bloggers as most of political bloggers are anonymous. We can only identify some bloggers' locations by interpreting their posts. Most of the active political blogs that initiated in 2007 are now deactivated and only few survived. It can be influenced by banned the blog hosting services from ISP in Myanmar.

However, steadily development of the blogs after 2007 shows filtering and banning of the blog hosting services have not affect the increase of blogs or most of the Burmese political bloggers are living outside of Myanmar.

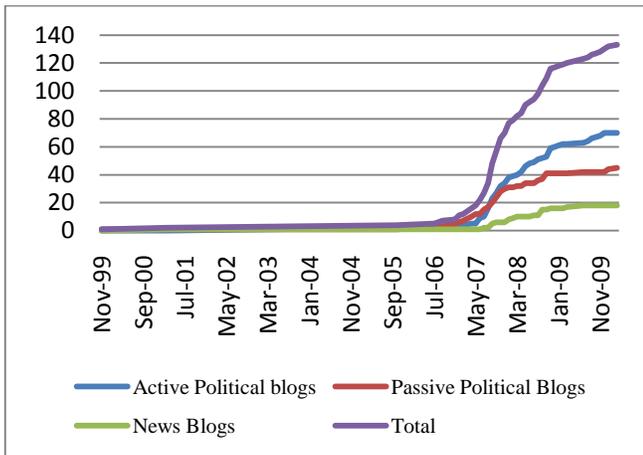


Fig.2. Number of political blogs in 10 years (1999-2009) n=133  
 Source: Investigation on booming of political blogs by Author. Source file is available at author's archive.

**D. Cbox: mean of interactions or battle ground**

Comment Box (Cbox) is widely used by Burmese Blogs for communications, spreading news and information between bloggers. 62 % of blogs in Myanmar blogosphere have Cbox in their blogs. This percentage also applied to political blogs, 82 blogs (62%) of political blogs contain Cbox and widely use.

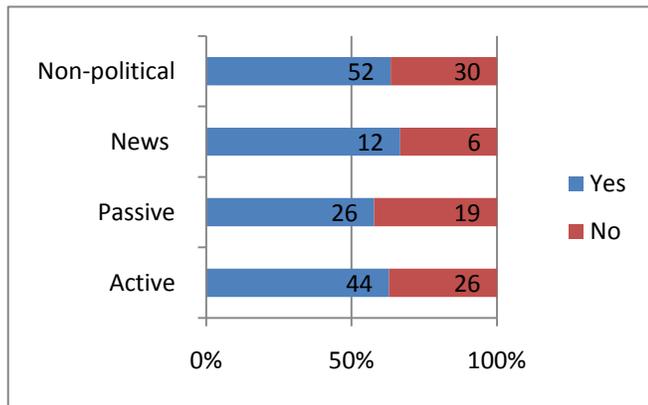


Fig.3. Presence of Cbox in different categories of blogs n=215  
 Source: Investigation on Cbox by author. Source file is available at author's archive.

During the Saffron Revolution, Cboxes were the source of information and news from inside Myanmar. It was largely used by most of the political blogs during 2007 because of accessibility [23] However after the saffron revolution, Cbox were become the battle ground between different political clusters on the blogosphere. Blogs who did not support saffron revolutions and denounced the revolutions were become the victims. Cbox users spammed the Cbox with rude words. Both groups which support revolutions and against the revolution reported concern with rude words on Cbox.

Although we cannot clearly identify the abusers, it was not automatic spamming as it was interactive. This phenomenon of Cbox abusing can only found in political blogosphere.

**E. Gender and Burmese Blogosphere**

Compare with personal blogs, the proportion of female political bloggers were relatively low in Burmese Blogosphere. Only 18 blogs (13%) of the political blogosphere was covered with female bloggers. Large proportion of unidentified sex also influenced on this result.

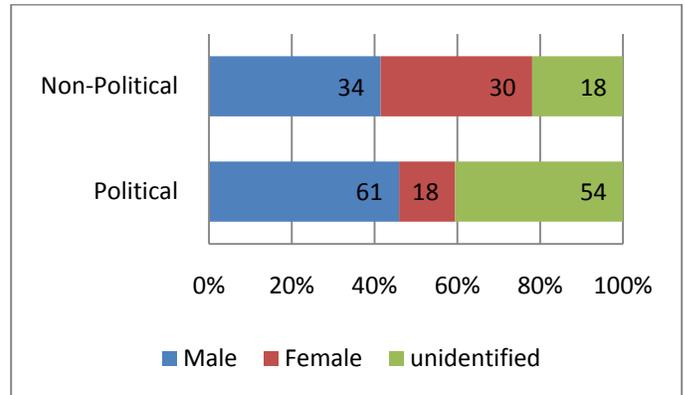


Fig.4. Gender Proportion in Burmese blogosphere: n=215  
 Source: Investigation on bloggers' gender by author. Source file is available at author's archive.

Most of the active political blogs were unable to identify their gender. It was due to the Bloggers protection on their identities for security reasons. In passive political blogs only 18 blogs were unable to identify. Results showed that active political blogs protected their identities more or blogging in team.

93% of the blogs, 29 team blogs were unable to identify their gender and 7% of the blogs, 3 blogs were written by groups of male. There is no evidence of female blogger groups in Burmese political blogosphere. In addition, not only the fewer female political bloggers but also there is no blogs concern with empowering women and promoting of feminism.

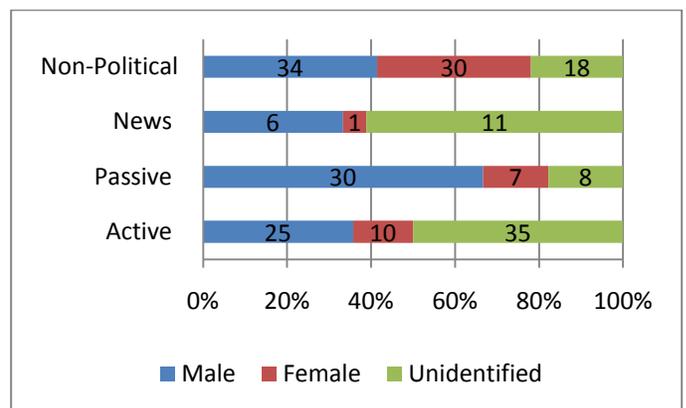


Fig. 5. Gender and different categories of blogs n=215  
 Source: Source file is available at author's archive.

V. BLOG POSTS FOR REVOLUTION

F. Different Types of Blog posts on Blogosphere

Primary posts on blogosphere were articles. However, bloggers shared the same articles around the network. News from news blogs were almost all the same as they shared the news from the same sources and serves as a news aggregator. Together with the aid of Cbox, they also post breaking news. Due to difficulties on confirmation, breaking news was posted as the articles rather than confirmed news. In political blogosphere, primary posts of 20 blogs were poems. Unlike articles, poems are not sharing among blogs and it was written by the bloggers.

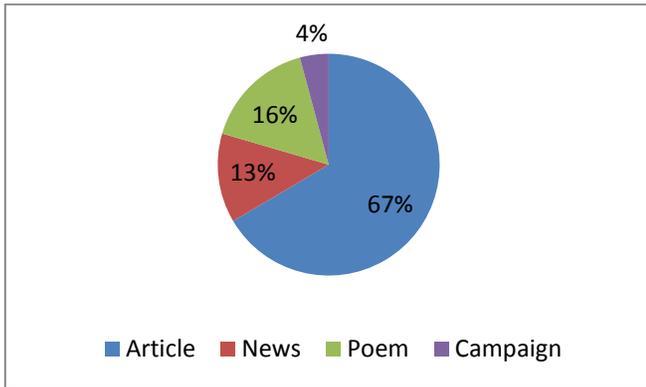


Fig.6. Primary posts on blogosphere n=215  
Source: Source file is available at author’s archive.

In secondary posts, majority of the posts were still shared by articles. It was followed by poems, news and campaign. Number of posts related to campaign increase significantly in all categories of the blogs. The proportion of the poems also increase compare with primary posts. This result showed that most of the bloggers write poems regularly and poems played an important medium in Burmese political blogs.

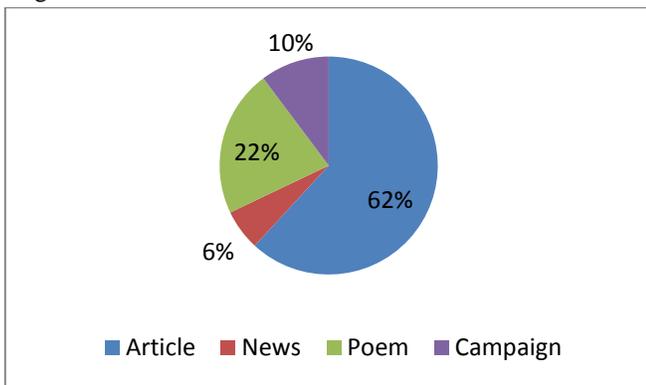


Fig.7. Secondary posts on blogosphere n=215  
Source: Source file is available at author’s archive.

A. Spring of Political Blogs: August 2007-October 2007

There were 57 political blogs recorded in October 2007 which shared only 30 percent of the total political blogs on Burmese blogosphere today. However, the number was increase from 9 blogs before 2007 and increase steadily in third quarter of 2007. It is a significant increase in number of blogs and can be regarded as a spring of the political blogs. Blog posts between august 2007 to October 2007 covered three political events, protest on fuel price hike in August, Saffron Revolution in September and talk between Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and SPDC in October.

After surfing 57 blogs 3756 blog posts were collected. There were 587 blogs in August 2007 and the number of posts increased significantly to 1667 in September 2007. It was due to the saffron revolution in September. In October 2007, numbers decrease slightly to 1502 event though 9 new blogs registered in October. Active political blogs shared 42% of the total blog posts with 1560 posts. It was followed by passive political blogs and news blogs with 25% and 33% respectively.

	August 2007	September 2007	October 2007	Total
Blog Posts	587	1667	1502	3756
Percentage	16%	44%	40%	100%

Fig.8. Number of blog posts during August 2007-October 2007

After categorizing blog posts as mentioned in methodology, 2819 post which shared 75% of all posts were belong under the category of “revolution”. It was followed by blogs posts which categorized as “other” with 617 blog posts, 17 % of the total posts. Passive political blogs shared the 69%, 423 posts, under the “other” category. It was due to the posts related to personal blog posts with no political aims. Posts related to human rights and ethnic minority rights were less than 1 % during that period. Posts related to “personal offence” and “history and academic” had almost the same amount of with 104 and 119 posts and shared 6% of the total posts respectively. Majority of the posts related to personal offences were only from 2 blogs. There were only 87 posts which against the saffron revolution and support the evolution process, the road map to democracy by SPDC.

The result on number of the blog posts showed bloggers were participate more actively during the saffron revolution than that of fuel price hike protests and talks between Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Lower blog posts in October were influenced by the shutdown of internet by Myanmar Government. However, the numbers of blog posts did not

reduce significantly during the time with no internet connection in Myanmar showed that most of the political bloggers posted from outside Myanmar.

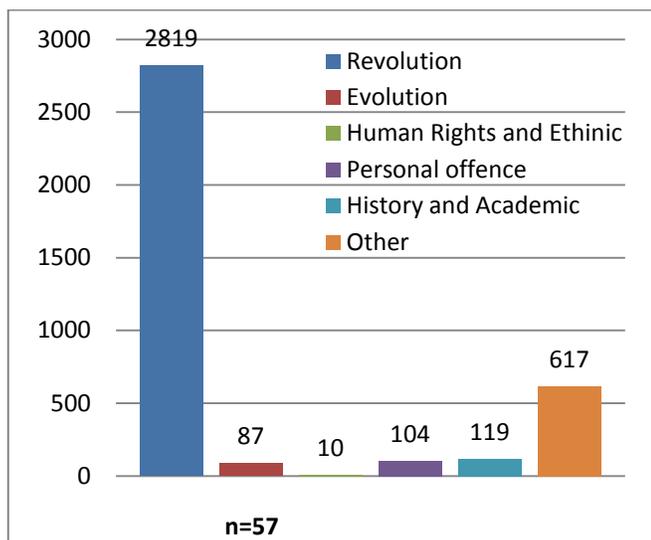


Fig.9. Different categories of blog posts on political blogosphere.  
Source: Source file is available at author's archive.

Although numbers of blogs posts in revolution category was above 2800, most of the posts were shared among the networks of active political bloggers. They shared the same posts in the blogosphere especially during the time of saffron revolutions. News, articles and campaign declarations were shared between active and passive political blogs. News blogs also shared the same news from news agencies. This phenomenon inflates the blog posts during the saffron revolution. In summing up, posts on Burmese political blogosphere were dense and highly linked among different political blogs. The numbers of posts that reflect the bloggers opinions were low however, we assumed posts on the blogs reflect the bloggers' intention.

### B. Political Culture of Burmese Political Blogosphere

As described above, the ratio of female bloggers on Burmese political blogosphere were relatively low and there was no posts concern with feminism and empowerment of female. Most of blog posts support revolution on both peaceful and arm struggles against the government. In some blogs, bloggers even posted the manuals to make Molotov and different weapons that is possible to develop domestically. The flag with fighting peacock and 5 stars Myanmar Flag were widely used in blogs, especially at the banners and side bars of the blogs. In addition, photos of general Aung San and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were widely used in every blogs. Although there were photos of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, there was no blog or website of NLD from inside Myanmar and NLD was not involved during the Saffron Revolution.

Every post under revolution category contains at least one word, "democracy". However there were no clear definitions on what form of democracy they defined. Majority of the political bloggers were against the constitution of 2008 and only 3 blogs that support constitutions and denounce Saffron Revolution. On the blogosphere, Two political demands to SPDC can be found throughout the revolution, early phase of revolution aims to receive apology from SPDC on the crackdown of protest in Pakoku. Later it leads to mass protest and most of the blog posts showed bloggers' expectation on the success of revolution with the leading of monks. This expectation and perception of success leads to increase level of participation in later. During the peak of the Saffron revolution, demand was to have dialogue between government and oppositions, NLD.

Majority of posts related to history and post under history were related 8888 uprising. Video concerns with 8888 uprising from YouTube were shared among blogs. Poems found on political blogs were also related to 8888 uprising. This result shows that 8888 uprising is still regard as the most important history events and political identity of democracy movements.

Different views on armed forces, Tatmadaw, were discussed during the crisis. Just before the saffron revolution in September, most of the bloggers hoped armed forced will join the revolution like early 8888 uprising, in addition they also write posts that encourage Tatmadaw to join the protests. However, it did not come to reality and protests were crack down. After the crackdown, views and opinions towards armed forced was change.

Blogs with personal offences were popular during the protests. Army officers and paramilitary were the victims of the blogs. Some of the blogs even posted not only about personal information but also family information and their business on the blogs. Until the end of September, there was no blogs that offense the opposition leaders.

This results on the interpretation of blog posts shows that there is no clear political ideology or at least there are no clear definitions on democracy on the Burmese blogosphere. Bloggers on Burmese political blogosphere can be regard as revolutionist and they just aims to against the military government by any means. They also support NLD and Aung San Suu Kyi during the Saffron Revolution even though both of them did not actively participate and unable to participate during the Saffron Revolution. Demanding the dialogue between Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and SPDC shows most of the bloggers assumption on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi that she is the person cable to develop democracy. Personal offenses are widely seen on the blogosphere and poems are still the important tools for campaigns and delivering messages. In summing up, Burmese political culture on Burmese political blogosphere can be regard as a revolutionist in nature, lacks of

political ideology and still relies on personal leadership rather than ideologies.

Although there is no evidence of political influence from the political parties inside Myanmar, exile organizations usually deliver their messages through blogosphere and some of the active political bloggers represent originations in exile. This phenomenon shows Myanmar political blogosphere is influenced by exile political organization.

### C. *Burmese Blogosphere: Democratic cyberspace?*

There is no doubt that Burmese political blogosphere is only the space that allow an able to discuss about Myanmar politics. However, results showed that most of the blogs share the same opinions on the SPDC and there are no other opinions can be found on the Myanmar blogosphere. Only few blogs are against the Saffron Revolution and support secularism. In additions, there are some personal offence on the blogs that against the Saffron Revolution both from Cboxes and comments. This result shows Burmese political blogosphere still require accepting the freedom of thought and equal opportunity of expression.

The hate against military regimes and lack of political ideology can be the reason that leads to deficit in freedom of thought. Due to the government suppression on the internet usage; the numbers of bloggers which represent inside the Myanmar is relatively low. This phenomenon leads to unbalance representatives in the cyberspace and cannot possible to influence on agendas and policies of exile organization. In summing up, we cannot claim Burmese political blogosphere is democratic due to lack of equal participation, freedom of thought and expression. However, compare with situation inside Myanmar, blogosphere is the only space to discuss politics.

## VI. CONCLUSION

As Burmese blogosphere is developed through Saffron Revolution, the blogs are still in revolutionist nature. It is require developing into cyberspace for political discussion. The relationship between political blogosphere and non-political blogosphere is still weak. Although we cannot identify the locations of the bloggers we can assume most of the bloggers are from outside Myanmar by interpreting the numbers of posts. Empowering and encouraging citizens inside Myanmar is required to increase participation and discussions in both cyberspace and blogospheres to improve equal participation. Burmese political blogosphere can be regard as the space that can criticize the government actions however; it is still not possible to interpret their political ideology as posts are only intended to against the regime. It is also too early to conclude that Burmese political blogosphere is representing the voice of citizens inside Myanmar as participations from inside Myanmar are low.

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